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ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE EDITOR

CHARACTER PORTRAYAL IN EARLY ROMAN

TRAGEDY (Korfmacher)

REVIEW

FRIEDLÄNDER, Documents of Dying Paganism (*Bieber*)



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## ANNOUNCEMENT

Because of the difficulties under which printers are laboring these days by reason of shortage of skilled help and materials, a few issues of the current Volume of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY will be omitted. **Hence this will be the last regular Number, with the exception of the Index Number (22), which is expected to appear in the Fall.**

Our printer is planning to set up during the Summer a goodly amount of type for the next Volume, and this will naturally be a great help to us next Winter.

We wish, therefore, that our contributors would transmit their papers to us as early as possible, so that we may be in position to take real advantage of the opportunity just mentioned.

Also, a gentle word of warning: Please use Greek type somewhat sparingly. The normal liberal use of the Greek is a luxury which, unhappily, we cannot enjoy these days.

## CHARACTER PORTRAYAL IN EARLY ROMAN TRAGEDY

Quintilian remarks<sup>1</sup> that Pacuvius and Accius are most noteworthy among the writers of early Roman tragedy 'for seriousness of thought, impressiveness of diction, and dignity of dramatic personages.' Ennius he does not attempt to evaluate as a tragedian, though it may be presumed that his very quotable estimate of the father of Latin letters in epic composition,<sup>2</sup> 'venerable as groves made sacred through age, in which stand towering and ancient trunks impressing one not so much with their beauty as with a religious awe,' is indicative of his attitude towards Ennius the tragedian as well. This concept of the seriousness of the Roman tragic stage has become a truism with modern commentators. Thus Mr. Duff,<sup>3</sup> speaking of Accius, says: 'Again and again comes insistence on the sovereignty of moral courage and the grandeur of triumph over vicissitude;' while Plessis<sup>4</sup> calls attention to 'la vigueur,

l'élan, l'élévation' of the same dramaturge, and reminds us that Accius was a favorite poet of the optimates in Cicero's day and, during the early principate, of those circles that looked for a return of the old Republic. In consonance with this weightiness of substance, Leo<sup>5</sup> observes that *ubertas*, the grand style, is properly predicable of tragedy.

A glance, therefore, at Character Portrayal in Early Roman Tragedy, may conveniently take its orientation and direction from these generally recognized premises of the high earnestness and moral elevation of the form. Now, despite the very fragmentary state of Republican tragedy, the field is, nevertheless, a large and inviting one for the student of characterization. Such a thorough-going study as the doctoral dissertation of Miss Wilner<sup>6</sup> is obviously impossible in the case of the tragic fragments that appear almost invariably without context. Again, it is not the purpose of this paper to deal with all the fragments, but only with those of the great triad, Ennius, Pacuvius, and Accius; of these, only with some examples of such tragedies and chronicle plays of praetextae (about two dozen) that available evidence indicates were still being produced in Cicero's day. A convenient listing of such plays is to be found in Mr. F. Warren Wright's Cicero and the Theatre, in the Smith College Classical Studies.<sup>7</sup> I shall follow the readings of Ribbeck, in his third edition of the Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta;<sup>8</sup> and shall make use of the interpretations and settings of the fragments suggested in Ribbeck's Die römische Tragödie<sup>9</sup> and in Mr. Warmington's versions of the three poets in his Remains of Old Latin.<sup>10</sup> The chief purpose will be an exposition of those qualities of elevation of sentiment and dignity of personality commonly claimed for Republican tragic composition.

a

It is not uninteresting that, of the plays of Ennius chosen for the study, the first, the *Aiax*, owes the preservation of the earlier of the two extant fragments

to an unusual sense of the adverb *statim*, which according to Nonius,<sup>11</sup> here means 'steadfastly', 'unyieldingly': 'They who with the Greeks did match arms unyieldingly' (Ajax 1R), as if to sound again the key-note of the thought and personalities of Roman tragedy, while the second fragment seems to be Teucer's shocked comment upon the suicide of Ajax: 'Welling out his life's breath, the warm blood-streams gush forth' (Ajax 2R).

In an effort to glance at the additional plays of Ennius, as well as those of the two succeeding masters, it will be convenient to advert to the well understood Greek and Roman proclivity for characterizing by types. Mr. C. R. Post, in writing on *The Dramatic Art of Menander*<sup>12</sup> remarks that 'In tragedy, psychological analysis had reached its apogee with Sophocles...; Greek individualism, however, stops at a certain point and does not go beyond a study of types.' I have previously suggested<sup>13</sup> that, in addition to the general prescriptions for a type portrayal of the old man, for the man of mature years, youth, old woman, matron, and young girl, there are distinct phases, or modifications, of these types for distinct genres of ancient narrative, epic verse, tragedy, comedy, and even pastoral.<sup>14</sup>

The fragments of the ten Ennian plays chosen for this study bear out very well the portrayal of the tragic senex, both in respect of traditional type canons and of the thoughtful stateliness predicated of the Roman tragic dramatist. The care-worn Priam, in the *Hectoris Lutra*, is disclosed at the tents of Achilles: 'Ye sentinels of the Myrmidons, in the name of your dominion and your trustworthiness, have pity upon me!' (*Hectoris Lutra* 14R. 1-2). Presently the abashed Achilles becomes conscious of the presence of the Trojan monarch: 'Do mine eyes behold thee, old sire? Jove protect me!' (Enni Inc. Nom. Rel. 9R). The suppliant's plea, for all its traditionalism in legend, seems almost to breathe afresh the Roman sense of law and equity, that instinct for the *iustum bellum* so clearly emphasized in the observances of the Roman *foetales*: 'Better than might is right: for oftentimes might the wicked gain: right and equity stand far sundered from the wicked' (*Hectoris Lutra* 15R.1-2).

Similarly, the stricken Telamon, upon the announcement of the death of Ajax, remarks resignedly in the play bearing his name: 'When I did children beget, then knew I that they would die, and for this did I rear them. Then when I sent them to Troy in defense of Greece, I knew that I was sending them into death-bearing war, to no banquet board' (Inc. Fab. 45R.1-3). The same play has two additional important fragments, of three and six lines, respectively (Telamo 1R.2) the one questioning the Providence of the gods and the other decrying the wiles and tricks of soothsayers and seers, possibly exclamations of the aged Telamon upon the suggestion that Calchas, the soothsayer, had repre-

sented the death of Ajax as an act of vengeance from the god.<sup>15</sup>

Portrayals of mature men are well suggested in Agamemnon and Thyestes. Several illuminating fragments in the *Iphigenia* (1R, 2, 4-7) represent the tragically disturbed state of mind of the Greek monarch, as he hesitates between love for his daughter and the eager desire to loose the harbor-becalmed ships, a thing he can do only by offering her as a human victim to the angered Diana. The badgering of Menelaus leads him to a rhetorical denunciation in the lines: 'Am I a mockery for thy misdeeds? Dost thou sin, and I bear the blame? For her wantonness is Helen to return, and a blameless maid to die? Is thy wife to be restored, my daughter to be slain?' (*Iphigenia* 6R.1-3). And the thought of noblesse oblige wrings from him the cry: 'The common man in this exceeds his king: right it is for the commoner to weep, but weep, honorably, the king may not' (*Iphigenia* 7R.1-2).

In the *Thyestes*, Ennius is true to the tragic desperation of the stricken father upon his realization of the nature of the viands which he has consumed. In lyrical interchange with a choral speaker, he says lamentingly: 'Forbear, my friends, to approach me: stand ye there!—lest pollution from me, yea, my very shadow, do hurt you who are guiltless! So festering is the sin that to my person clings!' *Thyestes* 8R.1-3. Finally, he calls down a curse upon the scheming Atreus (*Thyestes* 11R.1-4): 'shipwreck, utter mangling upon a jagged crag, denial of due burial rites.'

The young men of Ennius' plays are true to the tragic mould, spirited youths, high-souled, and courageous, but with the unfavorable glance of a hapless destiny upon them. Achilles, in the *Hectoris Lutra* (3R.1-3) reflects his dependence upon the gods in his prayer to Jove omnipotent to prosper the device of sending Patroclus into battle in Achilles' own armor, but after the death of Patroclus, he is the wrathful and fiery warrior as he handles for the first time the new weapons with which Thetis has provided him: 'Deeds which my sword and spear shall with this hand requite in close-set combat!' (*Hectoris Lutra* 8R). Action, as opposed to a vacuous speculativeness, is an underlying theme of Achilles' son's impatient declaration in the *Andromacha*: 'Play the philosopher I must, but only in brief: for this in no wise pleases me' (Enni Inc. Frag. 13R), much as Achilles himself, in the *Iphigenia* (8R.1-3) adds his voice to the not unnoted band of seer-baiters of Classical literature: 'Star-gazers' signs in the heavens he seeks and scans, what time Jove's She-goat rises, or the Scorpion, or some other name from the world of beasts. What is at his very feet, he looks not upon: 'tis the heaven's field he views.'

Tragic destiny is exemplified particularly in the case of the matricide Alcmaeon, who was pursued by the Furies because he had slain his mother Eriphyle for her



murder of his father Amphiarus. In a striking fragment (Alcumeo 2R.1-5), he describes his pitiable plight: 'In ways unnumbered am I hard pressed, by sickness, exile, and utter need; then terror drives all wit from out my frightened mind. My mother threatens torture in life and then death. As to these fears, no man is of such firm-set heart and towering assurance as not to shudder at them and have his blood run white with sickening dread.' He beholds such avenging Furies as Orestes did (Alcumeo 3R.1-7), but to him, despite his fears, they are creatures of the imagination only, an interesting contrast, by the Roman poet between the stuff that dreams are made on and the world of objective fact: 'Yet in no wise does my mind assent to what mine eyes behold!' (Alcumeo 4R).

That the older women of tragedy are likely to be represented as much-enduring, hapless, resigned, is suggested by the fragment in which a messenger seems to be describing the attitude of Hecuba in the *Andromacha*, when the murdered babe Astyanax is being made ready for burial: 'But like stark iron or stone she stiffly stands, and strives but seldom to draw out a sigh' (3R.1-2).

The greater number of the thirteen fragments which Ribbeck assigns to this same play describe the heroine *Andromache*, a good representative of the tragic woman of mature years. The following lines from the play epitomize her tragic fate: 'What bulwark am I to look to or to seek? Or on what escape through exile or through flight rely? Of citadel and of city am I reft! Whither go, whither turn? No longer stand mine altars ancestral at home, but lie broken and shattered—the shrines gutted with flame, the lofty walls scorched, unsightly, and with shriveled wood!' (*Andromacha* 9R.1-6). *Medea*, in the *Medea Exul*, is true to the Euripidean tradition of that savage heroine, though, as Mr. Frank observes,<sup>16</sup> there are certain changes in treatment suited to the needs of a Roman audience. 'Ennius', he says, 'had to alter *Medea's* long monologue <see *Medea* 5R> since before a Roman audience accustomed to seeing a matron in public, there was no point in making her apologize for appearing outside the palace.'

Young girls in Ennius are portrayed in a fashion true to the type of maidenhood from the time of Sophocles, if we are to accept the view of Mr. C. R. Post, in his study of *The Dramatic Art of Sophocles*,<sup>17</sup> that 'Sophocles seems to have created a new dramatic type, the heroic maiden. The two greatest examples in his extant tragedies are *Antigone* and *Electra*.' Polyxena, in the *Andromacha* (6R.1-2) seems heroically resigned to the fate of becoming a human sacrifice at the tomb of Achilles: 'Acheron's deep abodes of Orcus, pale in death, ye realms murky in shadow, hail, ye lower regions of darkness.' Likewise *Iphigenia*, in the play

bearing her name, goes with heroic resignation to her death, a victim to placate the ire of Diana: 'Unto Acheron will I fare, where Death's treasures lie stored' (*Iphigenia* 9R). *Cassandra*, Apollo-inspired prophetess, appears prominently in the fragments of the *Alexander*. Perhaps the most charmingly appropriate bit of dialogue is that in which her native composure and modesty struggle with the frenzied prominence which she attains under the goad of the Delphic god: 'Mother, nobler far than noblest women, driven am I by superstitious seer-predictings: for Apollo rouseth me unto madness with the speaking of dooms, even though I would not. The maidens of mine own age I shrink from, and I feel shame for my deeds before my father, best of men. Mother mine, thee I pity, and for myself I grieve: a goodly progeny hast thou borne to Priam, save only me: this gives me hurt. That I should be a hindrance, they a help; I a source of distress, they of benefit!' (*Alexander* 6R.3-9).

## b

The second of the tragic triad, *Pacuvius*, despite certain adverse comments in ancient times<sup>18</sup> regarding his style, nonetheless appears from a sampling of his plays to have maintained the Roman tradition for elevation of tragic personages and nobility of sentiment. The aged *Aeetes*, in the *Medus*, is addressed after many years of absence by the errant *Medea*, with his grandson *Medus*, whom he had not previously seen. In his dazed and toil-worn state, he is confused, thinking that the murdered *Absyrtus* is again before him:

*Aeetes*: 'Who art thou, woman, that with the unwonted name of "father" has addressed me? ... But what do I behold? Doth doddering age beguile and deceive me?'

*Medea*: 'I perceive, father, that likeness of voice hath played thee false.' (20R,22,21)

One may almost fancy here an anticipation of the helpless confusion of mind on the part of the exiled Lear in Shakespeare's masterly portrayal. As to his warriors, *Pacuvius* has a similarly spirited painting of the tempestuous *Ajax*, in the *Armorum Iudicium*. Deeply resentful is his: 'If my achievements ably done are not in fact without reward...', as is also his taunt to *Odysseus*: 'That thou shouldst idle in security, while we did here engage in toil—that was thy preference!...' while to the *Atreidae* he hurled the charge destined to become famous in Roman annals: 'Alack, that I did save those men, that they might survive to destroy me!' (*Armorum Iudicium* 5R, 6.1-3,15)

*Ulysses*, in the *Niptra*, appears momentarily weak and querulous, in the first pang of the mortal wound dealt him unwittingly by his son *Telegonus*. Cicero<sup>19</sup> quotes lines from the lyrical dialogue between hero and chorus, remarking how *Pacuvius* has improved upon his model, Sophocles, by having *Ulysses* lament

but slightly and even then suffer reproof from the chorus:

*Ulysses*: 'Step by step, with gentle stride, lest jolting stir a keener anguish.'

*Chorus*: 'Thou too, Ulysses, e'en though we perceive thou art gravely stricken, are yet almost too weak in spirit, accustomed as thou art to a life under arms.'

*Ulysses*: 'Hold, delay; The wound overwhelms me: lay it bare! Alack-a-day, I am tormented! Cover it o'er: get ye gone forthwith. Let be: for by your handling and jolting ye do make worse the biting pain' (Niptra 9R.1-12).

Ultimately he seems to regain the composure deemed proper for a hero: 'Complain thou mayest of adverse fate, but not lament: complaint is a man's part, but tears belong to a woman's nature' (Niptra 10R.1-2).

Heroism among youths is ably depicted in the Chryses<sup>20</sup> in the passage over which Laelius<sup>21</sup> says that the spectators rose from their seats in wild applause over what, after all, was but a fictitious narrative. Orestes and Pylades, that ancient pair so ably anticipating Hamlet and Horatio, are in the power of the Taurian Thoas: 'I am Orestes,' declares Pylades. 'Nay, but I, in very sooth, I tell thee, am Orestes,' insists the true bearer of the name; then in unison, 'Aye, both, therefore, we pray thee to let us die together' (Inc. Frag. 13bR.1-4). A single line among the fragments of the Teucer remarkably epitomizes the character of that ill-starred adventurer, so savagely rejected by his father Telamon for his alleged failure to avenge or rescue his half-brother Ajax. With a fine confidence in facing the unknown, he makes ready to set forth to new lands, declaring with something of the spirit of the Stoic cosmopolites: 'One's native land is to be found wheresoever things go well for him' (Inc. Frag. 49R).

Of the feminine characters in Pacuvius, there is something appealing about aged Anticlea in the Niptra, whom the tragic poet seems to treat as the year-worn nurse rather than the mother of Ulysses. As the unknown traveler enters, she sets bustling about preparations for ministering to him in hospitable fashion: 'Put hither thy foot, that with yellow streams of water I may cleanse off the tawny dust and lessen thy weariness through soft ministrations, with these same hands with which I oft did soothe Ulysses' (1R.1-3).

The matron Antiopa is a typically tragic figure, as she relates to her sons the story of her harsh enslavement, 'to gnash my teeth at the nights, which, alas, I did endure!' (Antiopa 6R), and of her menial toil: 'Hard grain-kernels I crushed with strength of stone' (Antiopa 7R). Sturdier, to be sure, is the character of Iliona, who in the play of the same name, displays

no consternation when the shade of her son, the murdered Deipylus, appears at dead of night pleading for due burial; instead, much as Hamlet pleads with his father's ghost to speak and not to vanish, she cries: 'Pray, stand: abide, give ear: yet again do thou relate thy story to me!' (Iliona 5R). Such lack of timidity is surely consonant with the laconic reply which she vouchsafes to the perjured Polymestor, when once she has entrapped him: 'Thou'rt lost—to tell thee much at once and in fewest words!' (Iliona 16R).

## C

Accius, third of the great tragedians, maintains, no less than his predecessors, the traditions for heroic mould of character and largeness of sentiment and viewpoint on the part of his personages. Among his men of mature years, Atreus, in the play to which he gives his name, is the typical despot, with his oft-repeated 'Hate they may, if only they dread' (Atreus 5R.1-2), as he ponders the probable effects which his contemplated revenge will have among the populace. There is something almost diabolic about his gloating cry of satisfaction when Thyestes has consumed the infamous meal: 'Their sire is tomb to his own sons' (Atreus 14R). In Thyestes' horror-struck realization of the deed which he has unknowingly perpetrated, there is something of the helplessness of Oedipus—of the urge to withdraw, anywhere, as an escape from the unhallowed associations that oppress him: 'Could I e'en lay a finger on the Argive sceptre, or seem worthy of Pelops' house? Unto whom can I disclose myself? What temple approach? What mortal address with saddened tongue?' (Atreus 17R.1-2). In his Brutus, a fabula praetexta, Accius is able to portray the tyrant through his own native genius, without direct dependence upon models in Greek play-making. The fragments, unfortunately, include no typical 'despot-lines' ascribed to Tarquin, though a possibly incidental reference to his predecessor, a democratic monarch, may be intended as a foil to the haughtiness of the tyrant: 'Tullius, who did freedom for the folk establish' (Brutus 4R); while a second line, spoken by the outraged Lucretia, likewise suggests the lawless infamy of the Tarquin line: 'At dead of night he came into our home' (Brutus 5R). The fragment of twelve lines (Brutus 1R) ascribed to Tarquin himself, shows him, like an earlier Macbeth, bearing his kingly honors fearfully and disturbed by omens—in this case, by a dream of vengeance against himself, and of the strange portent of the sun's going off on a new course. Not a little instructive is the reply of the seer, strangely blending a rationalistic explanation and a legendary interpretation of the dream; he begins with the lines: 'Sire, whatsoever men do in life—their thoughts, their cares, the things they see—their actions, too, and their pursuits during waking hours, if these recur to them in slumber, 'tis hardly wondrous. But yet the gods scarcely

vouchsafe so momentous a vision without good reason' (Brutus 2R.1-3).

A good portrayal of younger men is seen in the Epigoni, where the harassed Alcmaeon is faced with the favorite theme of classical tragedy, the dilemma of an apparent conflict in duties. Apollo it is, he says, 'who, save I avenge my sire, affords no surcease to my distresses' (Epigoni 6R); and yet, when the deed has been done, he feels a sharp, compelling need for atonement: 'Now will I proceed to laden the altars of the lords of heaven seeking to placate them with sacrifice' (Epigoni 10R). Yet, as in the case of Orestes, the Furies will not down, and he must needs face the sentence spoken by seer or avenging spirit: 'Wouldst stay? Wouldst yet remain, accursed with exile from Pelops' domain?' (Epigoni 16R).

Far more interest-stirring in the Rome of Cicero's day<sup>22</sup> on the orator's own testimony, was the strong reprobation of ingratitude spoken in the Eurysaces, words made applicable to Cicero's own experiences: 'He who with fixed intent did aid the commonwealth, establish it, take his stand beside the Greeks... and who when the issue stood doubtful hesitated not to make offer of his life nor spared his own person... O thankless Argives, Greeks undutiful, mindless of benefits, ye suffer him to be an exile, bear to have him driven forth, endure his banishment!' (Eurysaces 13R.1-6).

A due stateliness, too, is to be found in Accius' depiction of feminine personages. The Clutemestra, one of the plays put on in Cicero's day, affords a good instance, an instance carrying on as well the old contrast between the hapless Cassandra and the overweening Clytaemnestra. 'Well I knew,' says the captive Trojan prophetess, 'that this day would be my last and the end of my enslavement' (Clutemestra 7R). But the queen, defiant as ever, a veritable Lady Macbeth in her savagery, later in the play retorts to Electra: 'Thy mother for a righteous deed thou blamest, thy father all unjust thou dost approve' (Clutemestra 10R).

\* \* \*

Such a sampling, then, from certain of the more long-lived successes of the three great tragedians would appear illustrative of the claims of sententious gravity, moral elevation, and high seriousness in the thought and the character types of early Roman tragedy. It is hardly to be supposed that Ennius, Pacuvius, and Accius could have produced personages of the heroic stature of those of Aeschylus, or original lines with the penetrating speculativeness to be found in the subtler portions of Greek tragedy. Perhaps their audiences, restive at the best, could not have endured so much. Yet, there is ample evidence that the prized Roman *gravitas* of moral ideal and a certain rugged grandeur of personality were common marks of their efforts in character portrayal.

## NOTES

110.1.97.

210.1.88.

3J. Wright Duff, *A Literary History of Rome: From the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age*<sup>2</sup> [London, T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1910], p. 229.

4Frédéric Plessis, *La Poésie Latine* (Paris, C. Klincksieck, 1909), p. 44.

5Friedrich Leo, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1913), p. 230.

6Ortha Leslie Wilner, *The Technique of Character Portrayal in Roman Comedy: Abstracts of Theses, Humanistic Series*, vol. 7, pp. 451-454 (University of Chicago, 1928-1929). See C.P. 25 (1930), pp. 56-71; 26 (1931), pp. 264-283; 33 (1938), p. 20-36.

7F. Warren Wright, *Cicero and the Theatre*, in *Smith College Classical Studies* 11 [Northampton, Massachusetts, 1931], pp. 31-60. I have used most of the plays listed by Wright as acted, on Cicero's evidence, in Cicero's day. The plays used follow: from Ennius,—*Aiax*, *Alcumeo*, *Alexander*, *Andromache*, *Hectoris Lutra*, *Ipigenia*, *Medea*, *Melanippa*, *Telamo*, *Thyestes*; from Pacuvius,—*Antiope*, *Armorum Iudicium*, *Chryses*, *Iliona*, *Medus*, *Niptra*, *Teucer*; from Accius,—*Atrous*, *Brutus*, *Clutemestra*, *Epigoni*, *Eurysaces* (*Prometheus* and *Tereus*, also listed by Wright, seemed less useful for my purpose). A limitation of the study to plays still holding the stage in Cicero's day is based on the supposition that these tragedies probably possessed qualities peculiarly suited to the taste of Roman audiences and so in accord with the approach to character portrayal in the present study.

8Otto Ribbeck, *Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*<sup>3</sup> (Leipzig, Teubner, 1897). Citations will follow the form, for example: *Hectoris Lutra* 14R.1-2, meaning fragment 14 of the *Hectoris Lutra* as given in Ribbeck's third edition, lines 1 and 2 of the fragment. For the sake of convenience, references to the plays are indicated in parentheses in immediate connection with the quoted lines.

9Otto Ribbeck, *Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1875).

10E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin: Newly Edited and Translated* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1935—), four volumes: vol. 1, Ennius and Caecilius, and vol. 2, Livius, Naevius, Pacuvius, and Accius.

11Nonius 393.7.

12C. R. Post, *The Dramatic Art of Menander*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 24 (1913), pp. 111-145, p. 140.

13W. C. Korfmaier, *Three Phases of Classical Type Characterization*, C.W. 27 (January 8, 1934), pp. 85-6.

14W. C. Korfmaier, *Classical Type Characterization: The Pastoral Phase*, in *Proceedings of the Missouri Academy of Science* 4 [1939], pp. 188-190.

15R. C. Coleman-Norton has studied the philosophical aspects of the early dramatists. See his *Philosophical Aspects of Early Roman Drama*, C.P. 31 (1936), pp. 320-337; also his *The Conception of Fortune in Roman Drama*, in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, edited by T. Leslie Shear (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1936), pp. 61-71.

16Tenney Frank, *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic: Sather Classical Lectures*, 7 (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1930), p. 44.

17C. R. Post, *The Dramatic Art of Sophocles*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 23 (1912), pp. 71-127, especially p. 97.



18See Lucilius 875M; Persius 1.77-78; Quintilian 1.5.67.

19Tusc. Disp. 2.48.

20If, indeed, the fragment really belongs to the Chryses, and not to the Dulorestes.

21Cicero, De Amicitia 24.

22See the notes ad locum in Ribbeck, *Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 210-212. Frank Frost Abbott, *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912) has a chapter, pp. 100-114, on The Theatre as a Factor in Roman Politics under the Republic.

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**Documents of Dying Paganism.** Textiles of Late Antiquity in Washington, New York, and Leningrad. By PAUL FRIEDLÄNDER. 66 pages, 16 plates. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1945). \$1.50

The learned author, professor of Classics in the University of California at Los Angeles, has the praiseworthy ambition of combining philological, historical, and archaeological research for the investigation of late antique civilization. In 1912 he published *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius, Kunstbeschreibung Justinianischer Zeit*, with extensive introduction, commentary, German paraphrase and archaeological study of the description as well as an hypothetical reconstruction of the monument described. Again in his *Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus, Des Prokopios von Gaza 'Εκφρασις Εικόνος*, published in 1939 in the *Città del Vaticano, Studi e Testi* No. 89, he has attempted to visualize, with modern reconstructions, paintings known only in descriptions.

In his newest work he starts on the other and with three outstanding tapestries, probably all three once created in Egypt, which he tries to interpret as documents of late Greek religion in their religious and artistic significance. The Hestia Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks is reproduced in a beautiful colored frontispiece and excellently studied for form and content. The author's commentary represents great progress compared with the older treatments which he quotes. It is certainly Hestia not only as the numen of the hearth but as the center of the universe, who distributes wealth, cheerfulness, fair fame, festivity, virtue, and progress to the six putti which attend her on either side. There can also be no doubt that the attendant to the right is Phos, Light, so named on the tablet in her hands, and that this light is not only the light of fire on the hearth, but also intellectual light.

The attendant on the left, however, has been badly misunderstood. Her middle part is destroyed, and patched with a fragment of a seascape, a fish and a lobster being visible. The author believes the figure to be male and to represent a mythical singer, most likely Orpheus. He might have been warned by the many and even rather far-fetched parallels which he brings

for the structure of the whole on his Plates 2-9, pp. 50-57: from the Muses on either side of Vergil, the Nereids on either side of Oceanus, the attendants on either side of Mithras, the dancers on either side of Cybele, the apostles on either side of Christ, and the angels on either side of the Madonna, as also from nearer parallels which he could have found in Pagan and Christian Egypt, Brooklyn Museum (1941), Figs. 9-10, 12-13. From these he could have seen that in such a symmetrical scheme there are always two figures of the same kind—two animals, two prophets, two saints, two attendants. The companion of light is the warmth which the flame of the hearth gives. I do not doubt that the destroyed tablet had the name *Therme* inscribed. Cp. the inscription beside the nymph of the warm springs on coins of Apamea, Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, V, p. 65, s.v. *Therma*. Thus the two female side figures, together with the red flowers and diadems symbolize the flame of the hearth which gives warmth and light.

The second part of the book, pp. 27-46, Pls. 10-16, is devoted to two small tapestries which the author names Cybele Panels. Unfortunately, I cannot follow his interpretation of the center figure as Cybele on her car drawn by lions, with her sacred stone in her hand, surrounded by two Corybantesses, one of which, holding the apple, the token of love, is the girl loved by Attis, for which unfaithfulness to Cybele he is punished with mutilation by the other, while, on the textile in the Metropolitan Museum, Pan is running away from the scene. On the Leningrad tapestry the author sees the moment of action consequent upon that of the other panel: the punishment has been carried out, the unfaithful girl is moving away in place of Pan, her place is taken by a dancing satyr, while the severed member of Attis, dripping with blood, is hanging in the air.

To sober archaeological eyes, this appears as pure fantasy. The right explanation as the triumph of Bacchus has already been given by the curator at the Metropolitan Museum, Dimand, in *Coptic Egypt*, papers read at a symposium in connection with the exhibition on Paganism and Christianity, The Brooklyn Museum, 1944, p. 52, and by Cooney, *Pagan and Christian Egypt*, exhibited at the Brooklyn Museum, 1941, p. 63, No. 189. This interpretation can be elaborated as the Indian triumph of Dionysos over Deriades, which is described by the poet born in the center of tapestry art, Nonnus (*Dionysiaca*, Books XIII-XL). Friedländer in an early article, 'Die Chronologie des Nonnos von Panopolis,' in *Hermes*, XLVII (1912), pp. 43ff., has dated him in the years 440-490, thus about a century later than the Metropolitan and Leningrad tapestries and about contemporary with the Hestia tapestry. Dionysos is represented with soft, almost female breast, as he is often since the Hellenistic period. The Indian Orontes, son-in-law of Deriades,

describes him as 'with the soft skin of a woman' (Nonnus, XVII, 185f.). His car is not drawn by lions but by panthers (*pardalis*, *πάρδαλις*, Nonnus, XIV, 261, XVIII, 13f., XXIV, 342 and *passim*) or leopards with spotted skin. In his right hand he holds a cluster of grapes of the vine, which fills the whole ground, his gift to mankind so much praised also in Nonnus. A similar square stylization of grapes is found in the mosaic from the Martyriona at Antioch-on-the-Orontes, III, p. 218f., No. 180, Pl. 92, sections 14-15 and 18. The two maenads on either side of him dance in ecstasy, one with a bowl, probably an omphalos phiale, held rather awkwardly, the other with a knife in her hands. They are joined on the Leningrad tapestry by a satyr, while the Pan of the Metropolitan Museum panel, like the Pans in Nonnus dances 'high on their familiar rocks in the dust with nimble feet' (Nonnus XVIII, 59f.). Twelve Pans and whole armies of satyrs and Maenads take part in the expedition. The satyrs are called boldhearted while they are drunken with wine (Nonnus, XIV, 120f.), but the deeds of the Maenads are particularly praised. They 'stood like a stone wall,' 'killed the enemies by bunches of leaves,' and 'led away from the battlefield their crowd of captive warriors' (Nonnus, XVII, 335f., 378f.). That is why they have baldrics around their breasts to characterize them as fighters. The leader of the Indians is 'huge Deriades, that king of men' (Nonnus, XXI, 213) 'with the courage of Ares,' 'divine offspring of Enyo,' and 'proud' (Nonnus, XXIV, 69f., 147, 174). Nevertheless 'the great Indian prince whom countless blades could not kill was conquered by the tendrils of the champion vine' (Nonnus, XXXVI, 373f.); as Dionysos had predicted: 'You shall see the bold king, fettered with ivy and vine clusters, rolling among leaves and clusters of grapes, wearing fetters like those which the divine Nysiad nymphs, now that the songs of madness are over, still tell of' (Nonnus, XXXV, 354ff.). He is represented on the tapestries with his hands bound behind his back, with loose trousers of spotted fur and with a mantle around his hips with the ends knotted in the center and falling down, just as the dress of an Indian is represented on the Diptychon Barbarini of the time of Justinian (Peirce and Tyler, *L'Art Byzantine*, II (1934), Pls. 1-2; Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, I, p. 194, Fig. 195; R. Delbrück, *Die Consular Diptychen*, pp. 188ff. Pl. 48). He has lost his crown, which is now worn by Dionysos himself, who has become the ruler of the Indian cities, and 'reigns in the cities of Asia with his spear' (Nonnus, XVII, 17f.). He wears the city crown also on the coins of Teos (see Friedländer, p. 28, note 9). A maenad guards the prisoner just as a maenad with thyrsos guards the bound

Indian on the sarcophagus in the Belvedere of the Vatican, No. 31b. (Reinach, *Rép. des Reliefs*, III, 360, 3, 1. Amelung, *Skulpt. des Vat. Mus.*, II, p. 84f., Pl. 7). Many sarcophagi of the second and third centuries—first collected by Botho Graef, *De Bacchi expeditione Indica monumentis expressa*, and recently for the sarcophagus corpus, begun by Robert and continued by Rodenwaldt—have figures parallel to the tapestry of the fourth century.

The interpretation of the Leningrad tapestry is the same as that of the Metropolitan Museum. It is not a second act but a variation of the same theme. The object between Dionysos and the Maenad is nothing but the right arm and hand of the Maenad here turned inside and holding the same knife as on the other tapestry. The reason for its having been so badly misunderstood is that it is displaced. The piece with the waist and arm of the Maenad has been torn and is clearly inserted in a wrong place too near the center. The tendrils in the background behind the arm are now in a place where the upper body of the Maenad has to be. If one continues her lower part upward it is lost in these tendrils.

The dolphins on both tapestries are also characteristic of Dionysos, whom they accompany on the well-known bowl of Exekias when he returns over the sea each spring to Greece. The lower border certainly does not represent apples, but is a rinceau stem or tendril with conventionalized leaves and flower buds. Cp. the similar, but not quite so strongly stylized border in the tapestry at Ann Arbor, Lillian Wilson, *Ancient Textiles from Egypt in the University of Michigan Collection* (1933), p. 29, No. 64, Pl. V.

A third tapestry from Achmim-Panopolis has a similar object (Forrer, *Römische und Byzantinische Seiden-Textilien aus Achmim-Panopolis*, 1891, Pl. 1): Dionysos is seated between a satyr and a Pan, a leopard is at his feet and before him two fettered Indians guarded by a Maenad holding clappers and a bowl. The border is formed by lions, striped tigers, and spotted leopards. The subject thus was popular in Egypt before Nonnus used it for his epic.

The courageous attempt of an eminent scholar to combine in his single personality the research of three different disciplines proves that collaboration between representatives of the different fields is preferable to such a single-handed undertaking. Despite the mistaken interpretations, the small book contains much information about ancient religion, literature, and philosophy, which is also useful for the archaeologist.

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